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AUTHOR Mhone, Guy C. Z.
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ABSTRACT

This paper suggests that the current crisis in Black Studies is due to its failure to achieve full legitimacy as a unique academic area of concern. The paper further contends that the lack of an external and internal legitimacy is due to the lack of an objectively identifiable unique methodology to undergrid Black Studies. Section I addresses the need for a methodology of Black Studies and focuses on the problem, method, perspective, and methodology (value-bias and value-orientation), and also discusses the "Death of White Sociology." Section II addresses issues concerning the development of a substantive structure for a Black Studies methodology. Here, the problem is discussed along with a Black Studies perspective, the substantive structure, the dominance-subjugation threat-submission (DS/TS) system, conditions for the identification of the DS/TS system, implication of the DS/TS system, and some implications of the DS/TS system for empirical research (identifying oppression, the homogeneity of black people, and race and class). Ideology and methodology are the focus of the concluding section. The search for a methodology of Black Studies in the Black Studies crisis is the primary aim of actualizing a long run internal and external legitimacy. (Author/AM)

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TOWARD A METHODOLOGY OF BLACK STUDIES

By Guy C.Z. Mhone
Assistant Professor, Economics Dept.,
Acting Chairman, Black-Hispanic
Studies Dept., State University
at Oneonta, New York

Paper presented at the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, 60th Anniversary Convention, October 15-19, 1975, Atlanta, Georgia.

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I. THE NEED FOR A METHODOLOGY OF BLACK STUDIES

A. The Problem

In a general way, the current crisis in Black Studies programs can be said to be due to the failure of Black Studies to achieve full legitimacy as a unique academic area of concern. Assuming that Black Studies is primarily distinguishable on the basis of racial considerations we can define the degree of its acceptance among whites as external legitimacy, and the degree of its acceptance among Blacks as internal legitimacy. It is contended here that the lack of an external and internal legitimacy is due to the lack of an objectively identifiable unique methodology that undergirds Black Studies.[1]

The major issues with regard to external legitimacy pertain to the degree to which Black Studies can be viewed as lacking academic rigor, as being subversive to the established institution's and mores, as being ethnocentric, or as being academically redundant. The problem here is that those who constitute the external factor are the very people who control the financial strings and are the very people who have perpetrated the injustices Black Studies dedicates itself against. The considerations pertaining to internal legitimacy may relate to the degree to which the majority of Black people fail to see the relevance or utility of Black Studies in furthering their goals.

It is, perhaps, correct to say that at this point in history, the legitimacy of Black Studies as a content area of academic concern is fully accepted by all. As a content area Black Studies can be fragmented along traditional lines and can be quite easily

incorporated into the major disciplines such as History, Sociology Economics, and so on, as a concentration in those disciplines. The proponents of Black Studies, however, would quickly point out that if such were the case not only would a unique perspective be lost, but that the very disciplines that have in the past ignored Black Studies, cannot be entrusted with the responsibility of sustaining it. The contention, therefore, is that in order to guarantee a proper perspective which makes Black Studies useful in eliminating past, present, and future injustices against Black people, Black Studies should be institutionalized as a separate area of academic concern controlled by Black people.

Black Studies, therefore, is distinguished and justified primarily on the basis of perspective and content.[2] We note here, also, that this justification is made a priori in light of the historical experiences of Black people as a race. The implication is that a 'correct' Black Studies perspective is the monopoly of Black people. It follows then that by looking at the output of Black scholars in Black Studies we should be able to identify a unique perspective and unique results distinguishable from perspective and results in traditional disciplines. The problem, however, is that political rhetoric and polemics masquerading under scholarship far out-distances serious scholarship among Black Studies practitioners.

In a recent essay, Harold Cruse has accurately pinpointed this problem thus:

> Ever since the tailing off of the momentum of the"Black Revolution", and the defusing of of the "Black Power" time-bomb, the quality of Black social analysis has seldom transcended the inclination to substitute posturing for keen social perceptions. Black social analysis is pretty tame, evasive and superficial stuff.[3]

This problem can also be stated in another way: The uniqueness and separate existence of Black Studies cannot be justified, in the longrun, solely on a priori grounds, even if justified by history. If Black Studies content and perspective are unique, they should be verifiably shown to be so by the quality and utility of scholarly output and activity emanating from it. It cannot claim this uniqueness on the simple basis that its practitioners say it is so!

While the initial impulse is to distinguish phenomena for academic concern on the basis of our own cognition of them, it is nevertheless true that such a priori and subjective criteria cannot be the sole basis on which academic areas of concern are sustained. Such cognition merely suggest a certain potentiality in the phenomena that has yet to be truthfully realized. Since phenomena are determinate and self-sufficient, and, in themselves meaningless, our subjective perceptions of them are potentially as numerous as there are perceivers (that is, minds).[4]

Meaningfulness or truthfulness in our perceptions can best be arrived at by supporting our subjective cognition with ways of interpretation that are objectively identifiable, communicable, and verifiable. Such objective ways of arriving at the true nature of things are what constitute the scientific approach, or simply method. The basis of method is logic and as such it attempts to eliminate arbitrariness by regularizing creativity in problem solving and understanding reality. Method is universal and neither originates with nor is a prerogative of any part of humanity let alone white people, or Westerners.

Method should not be confused with mere orderliness or description; neither should it be confused with the mode or lifestyle of its practitioners. Method is that approach to apprehending phenomena through the search for explanation, relationships, laws, tendencies, and theories. It relies on aggregative and cumulative abstraction and systematization, guaranteeing repeatability, control, and predictability of processes and relationships among phenomena. It ensures efficiency in the process of knowing, while it also guarantees that knowledge is independent of the particular group seeking to know. Thus knowing, through method, is, in the final analysis a public and not a private, individual, or parochial affair. If, therefore, Black Studies has to acquire a legitimacy external to its practitioners it must follow the canons of method. The distinctness of Black Studies as an academic area of concern will then depend on the degree to which it succeeds in particularizing method to service its unique perspective and content in the same manner that other disciplines have been able to.

B. Method, Perspective and Methodology

Method, however, is not a total guarantor of the immunity of scientific inquiry to the values and biases of academicians. A priori principles, assumptions, and goals reflecting the preferences of inquirer are of necessity infused into method, for as Buchler has observed:

> They bound his command perspective or order of utterance. Collectively they reflect a bundle of aims. So forceful has been the influence of these aims in particular, especially on Western society, that they are often equated with the aims of method as such.[5]

It is these a priori considerations that can be said to constitute perspective. We can distinguish between two ways in which such a priori considerations, which we will refer to collectively as values, may determine an inquirer's perspective.[6]

Value Bias:

First values can be introduced when an inquirer pays scant attention to the impersonal verdicts of objectivity and verification, but, instead, pursues his inquiry on the basis of personal or communal proclivities. The resulting inquiry can be said to be value-biased and as such it has no place in scientific inquiry, for it degenerates method into a personal or parochial tool. Value-bias, therefore, is antithetical to method, and as such it is based on assumptions that are either metaphysical, or that are in principle unverifiable or unidentifiable.

The nature of the problem posed by a perspective based on value-bias can be illustrated by the dillemma faced by Black Studies programs in recruiting personnel. Many programs are unwilling to hire white personnel on the ground that they lack the proper perspective. On the other hand the same programs have fallen victim to internecine strife as a result of their desire to fire Black personnel seen to lack a proper perspective. In the former case color has been a sufficient criteria and yet in the latter case color seems not sufficient. In general whether or not a Black scholar is said to have a proper perspective has been determined ex post. The problem here is simply that a Black Studies perspective has not been articulated in a manner that makes it externally identifiable.

In general, the popular view of the Black perspective is an amalgam of one view that stresses characteristics inherent in Blackness such as emotive and intuitive powers, and communal 'vibes' or feelings of 'togetherness', and of another view that stresses experiential characteristics resulting from being discriminated against or subjugated on the basis of Blackness. There is a tendency in the popular view to contend that these characteristics while knowable internally (among Blacks) are and cannot be knowable externally (among whites). The issue however is confused by the lack of unanimity among Black people themselves as to what constitutes a proper perspective.

However, to claim that a Black perspective is such that it cannot be articulated, identified, or specified is tantamount to admitting that the perspective is a value bias. As such the perspective would be grossly untenable as a basis for scientific inquiry. To see this consider the following points. First, to claim that the perspective is in principle unidentifiable is of course, to reject a crucial condition of scientific inquiry, that any assertion be capable of disproof in principle. Secondly, the mere attempt to assert a unique Black perspective implies some form of comparison with other racial groups, or a process of elimination both of which are ways of proving that the perspective exists and that it is therefore identifiable and externally knowable. Lastly, if the claim that a Black perspective is unidentifiable is made categorically on a priori grounds, it amounts to predicting that any attempt at determining

the validity of the claim will fail, which again is a very unscientific postulate. For scientific inquiry then the Black perspective should be identifiable, externally knowable, and in principle capable of disproof for,

> to claim, therefore, that a particular method is not subject to articulation is virtually equivalent to claiming that the method does not exist.[7]

Value Orientation:

While value bias should be minimized and if possible eliminated in scientific inquiry value decisions as such are not necessarily antithetical to method. For, as Kaplan has observed in scientific inquiry "freedom from bias means having an open mind, not an empty one."[8] Values can be introduced into scientific inquiry in any of the following ways: through choice of subject matter, problems, tools of analysis, and concepts or theories; through the nature of the a priori assumptions made as to goals, ends, means and the nature of the subject matter; and through the manner of inferring causality, associations or relationships. The infiltration of values in these ways determines what we shall call, in accordance with Max Weber, a value orientation.[9]

In itself a value orientation could result in value bias, but as long as the inquirer explicitly recognizes and stipulates his value-orientation while affording any external observer "an opportunity to verify the correctness of his reasoning and the soundness of his statements,"[10] then it should not be antithetical to method. For, indeed as Freud has observed:

> Given the extensive and intensive infinity of empirical reality which no science can wholly encompass, value-orientation is seen to be that principle of selection which is the pre-condition for at least partial knowledge. More precisely, value-orientation is the subjective factor which enables a scientist to acquire a limited objective knowledge, always provided that he is conscious of this inevitable limitation."[11]

Value-orientation, then, by ensuring that a particular perspective is imposed upon the interpretation of phenomena, particularizes method. When method is particularized in this way it is transformed from a general form of scientific inquiry into a methodology unique to a particular value-orientation or perspective. A methodology then addresses itself to certain basic aspects of scientific inquiry. First, it is based on an identifiable perspective or value-orientation in general consisting of a priori postulates or assumptions. Secondly, it consists of a substantive structure of related concepts, definitions, models, theories, taxonomic structures, laws and so on that facilitate the translation of the perspective into verifiable hypotheses about phenomena. And lastly, it has a syntactical structure stipulating

> what it does by way of discovery and proof, what criteria it uses for measuring the quality of its data, how strictly it can apply canons of evidence, and in general of determining the route or pathway by which the discipline moves from its raw data through a longer or shorter process of interpretation to its conclusion.[12]

To a unique methodology, therefore, corresponds a unique perspective or value-orientation. The reverse however is not necessarily true for a perspective that is primarily a value-bias cannot have a unique methodology. Thus, in order for Black Studies to legitimize itself as an academic area of concern, distinct and separate from other disciplines it, should be able to show that its

perspective is a value-orientation having a claim to, and supported by unique substantive and syntactical structures. In short, Black Studies, if it is not to be lost in the traditional disciplines, should have a unique methodology. Such a methodology, by enhancing knowing, would move Black Studies closer to achieving the external and internal legitimacy it so desperately needs. By particularizing method through an amalgamation of a specific value-orientation with appropriate substantive and sytactical structures the scholarly output identified as emanating from Black Studies would live up to the 'universal' canons of scientific inquiry.

C. A Note on the "Death of White Sociology"

The preceeding discussion should not be understood to imply that the need to scientifically operationalize a Black Studies perspective has gone unrecognized among Black Studies proponents. The concern for an explication of a methodology commensurate with a Black perspective has been fully articulated in at least two anthologies, The Black Aesthetic, edited by Addison Gayle Jr., and The Death of White Sociology, edited by Joyce Ladner.[13] Our comments are restricted to the latter book which addresses itself to the social sciences. Ronald Walters has articulated the main concern and thrust of the book in observing that

> Whether or not one believes in the possibility that there is a body of knowledge about Black life which can be disciplined and made useful in the survival and development of Black people depends upon many factors. Among them are a determination that such knowledge can be disciplined and a conviction that such knowledge will be useful when applied to actual problems the community faces.[14]

But, in order to identify that body of knowledge which ought to be disciplined for the benefit of Black people a relevant perspective has to be identified.

Robert Staples argues that the relevant perspective cannot be found in mainstream social sciences for, in assuming structural-functionalist approaches which view institutions and social relations as mutually interdependent for the harmonious maximization of everybody's welfare, they fail to reflect the reality of the experience of Black people. The latter view their environment as an oppressive one and as such require a social science of liberation. Thus Gerald McWorter states that

> "the concepts. . .for a Black social science (should) clearly suggest a specific socio-political content to be understood as the race problem.[15]

McWorter proceeds to enumerate examples of such concepts such as "African", "colonization", "Neo-colonialism", "Liberation", and "Freedom". Walters similarly suggests relevant concepts by adding to the preceding list such concepts as "conflict", "radicalism", "Africanism", "nationalism", "history", "cultural style", "self-determination", and "racism".

The above concepts are cited to illustrate the contention that a Black Studies perspective ought to consist of a framework which is cognitively meaningful to Black people on a priori grounds Thus Nathan Hare quotes Mannheim as follows:

> It would be entirely naive to suppose that our ideas are entirely shaped by the objects of our contemplation which lie outside of us or that our wishes and our fears have nothing whatever to do with what we perceive. . . The most important thing, therefore, that we can know about a man is what he takes for granted, and the most elemental and important facts about a society are those

> that are seldom debated and generally regarded as settled.[16]

According to James Turner the relevant perspective is incorporated in Black Nationalism which he "objectively" identifies as having the attributes of Black people uniting as a group, controlling their destiny, resisting a subordinate status, developing ethnic self-interest, and re-evaluating the idea of self. He continues to observe that

> These characteristic attributes of the social phenomena referred to as black nationalism do not represent discontinuous factors but are intricately related elements which animate a particular process of interaction; which take the form of conscious cultivation of social and cultural pluralism and a movement toward self-determination.[17]

In support of Turner, Joseph Scott enumerates the following as the what ought to be the methodological aims of Black scholars: (a) to perceive, record and theorize about the external world from a Black peoples' perspective;

(b) to develop relevant explanatory models; (c) to evaluate and expose inapplicabilities of white theories; (d) to be ideologically non-conformist; (e) to be "technically innovative in setting about the tasks of problem selection, data gathering and concept building"; (f) to be Black value-oriented; and (g) to interpret findings with a view to assessing their relevance in contributing to Black Liberation and nation building.[18]

There is no indication in the articles by these writers and others in Joyce Ladner's book that they espouse what Merton has objected to as the total "insiders" doctrine that <u>all</u> Black people necessarily possess what has been identified as a Black perspective.

Merton's
They seem, rather, to subscribe to ^ structural conception that

> There is a tendency for, not a full determination of, socially patterned differences, in the perspectives, preferences, and behavior of people variously located in the social structure.[19]

The contention then is that since a majority of Black people are similarly situated structurally, and have shared similar historical experiences they will tend to share a similar perspective of the reality of their condition. Such a perspective constitutes what we have generally referred to as a Black perspective. But since Black academicians are generally in a socio-economic status markedly different from that of the masses of Black people they cannot be assumed to automatically possess the relevant perspective solely on the basis of their being Black. The Black scholar then acquires the proper perspective by consciously and completely identifying with and committing himself to the goals and aspirations of the masses of Black people. Thus, while some Black scholars may not, and some white scholars may have a Black perspective, in general, there is a higher probability of Black scholars identifying with a Black perspective, for the racial and ethnic bonds may not be completely eroded by their socio-economic mobility. In general, then, Black scholars should be the custodians of a Black perspective by ensuring a majority control over Black Studies.

But while the anthologists in Ladner's work proclaim the death of white social science, they have not shown that a unique body of a Black Studies substantive structure buttressed by a unique methodology has arisen to replace it. So far, general orientations in form of a perspective and the relevant concepts have been identified, but a substantive theoretical structure unifying the concepts in a way that facilitates the derivation of empirical hypothe-

ses has yet been attempted.

Black Studies, then, needs a body of theories, concepts, models and so on, constituting a general substantive structure with implications for empirical research. Alternatively, also, it needs a continuous body of empirical research purposively directed at building a substantive structure through challenging or modification of existing theories, introduction of new ones, and so on.[20] The current proliferation of piecemeal research and discrete theorizing usually of a post factum nature only serves to demonstrate the unviability of Black Studies as a separate academic area of concern. Social Science analysis in Black Studies requires ambitious attempts at broad theorizing similar in nature to the attempts by Stephen Henderson and Don L. Lee (Haki R. Medhubuti) in developing a broad theoretical framework for the Black Aesthetic.[21] In the next section a possible theoretical approach along the lines suggested here is attempted. The aim is to use current conceptualizations of Black oppression for a theoretical sketch that is designed more to demonstrate the theoretical and empirical complexity of the issue before us in our attempts to evolve a methodology of Black Studies.

II. TOWARD A SUBSTANTIVE STRUCTURE FOR A BLACK STUDIES METHODOLOGY

A. Perceiving the Problem

A priori, as Black people, we perceive an unsettled situation, a problem, in a universe that is multi-racial. We recognize from our own experiences that this problematic situation relates to racial oppression in its many manifestations: psychological, economic, cultural, social, political, and historical. As a historically subjugated group, regardless of our numbers, we are as a result, greatly influenced by exogenous forces emanating from the historically dominant group or groups. These exogenous forces arising from within

the dominant group are, however, not always necessarily directed towards Black people.

In other words, many activities in the lives of the dominant group would conceivably go on the way they normally do with, or without, Black people. The theoretical implication of this is that a unique methodology of Black Studies, if it is to aid us in understanding the reality of our condition, should assist us in conceptually disentangling the general (e.g. class oppression) and the inherent (e.g. the dominating or controlling nature of all institutions) from the particular (e.g. racial ethnic or tribal oppression) in our investigations. Such disentangling cannot be done and cannot be accepted on a priori grounds alone. Our methodology should be able to indicate to us the differentia of our condition, and our goals. To identify a methodology then is to objectify our value-orientation so that it is amenable to and facilites scientific inquiry.

B. A Black Studies Perspective

Any 'perspective', being a priori, consists of a combination of assumptions, or hypotheses about reality that are accepted without the need for verification. Thus an aspect of identifying a methodology involves explicit specification of underlying assumptions of the value-orientation. Some such assumptions, relevant to a Black 'perspective', are as follows:

(1) The basic environment Black people are involved in is one of domination and subjugation. This assumption is cognitively meaningful to Black people even if it is likely to be rejected by the dominant group, which, as

reflected in the social sciences, assumes that the environment is characterized by human freedom and equality.

(2) The social system is to one degree or another pluralistic (in form of races, groups, ethnicities or classes) characterized by social conflict of one kind or another, antagonistic or non-antagonistic. The historical experience of Black people is such that the assumptions of social harmony, homogeneity, and so on, are the exception rather than the rule.

(3) The primary goal ('vision') sought by Black people is that of acheiving freedom and independence. In their most general form, freedom and independence, as twin goals, shall be understood to refer to the desire of Black people to control their lives, destinies and resources in a manner that minimizes the role of exogenous forces but that maximizes autonomy, or self-determination.

Undoubtedly, more assumptions can be spelled out. The important point here is that a unique Black 'perspective' consist of those intuitively crystallized notions about the Black condition that can be taken for granted and be used as a springboard for scientific inquiry; for, only in this sense is the 'perspective' a value-orientation. But while some of these, and other assumptions, are in principle capable of verification, others can only be rejected or retained ex post on the basis of their utility in facilitating scientific inquiry. It can be indicated here also that whether or not one has a 'proper' perspective will depend initially on whether one accepts the above, and similar assumptions a priori, and proceeds to operate on their basis in scholarly pursuits.

C. The Substantive Structure

This aspect of methodology involves identifying in line with a Black 'perspective', basic concepts and conceptual frameworks that facilitate inquiry into the nature of our condition. The basic concepts have to be identified in terms of precision of definition, communicability, acceptance, and so on; they are the vocabulary of analysis, and their semantics ought to be clarified to ensure that investigators and others seeking to 'know' are talking about the same thing. Thus, in line with the Black 'perspective' the following terms, for instance, need conceptualization: domination, subjugation, oppression, discrimination, race, class, exploitation, inequality, culture, lifestyle, freedom, liberation, and so on.

A mere identification and conceptualization, however, is not enough. The elements of the semantics need to be translated, in terms of their relations, into conceptual structures such as ideal types, frameworks, theories, models, taxonomic structures and so on. Such conceptual structures ought to aid us in formulating relevant questions for inquiry. These conceptual structures, being the substantive structure of a methodology, in their totality, uniquely identify a discipline or area of concern in a manner that ensures longrun legitimacy. We need not rely solely on inventing new analytical structures; we can borrow from traditional methodologies where aspects of them are deemed relevant and useful for our own perspective. The resulting synthesis of such borrowings should, of course, be uniquely identifiable as ours, and be relevant to a Black perspective. The inventiveness, then, may lie in the ingenuity with which we amalgamate them into unique conceptual structures congruent with, and servicing our needs.

In line with assumption (2) above we can begin by assuming that the social environment from the point of view of Black people can be assumed to consist of heterogenous groups differentiated on the basis of various criteria, of which race is important for us. Now, if we assume that we cannot place cardinal or ordinal normative valuations on the goals, ends, or interests of these groups, we can further assume, in accordance with Arrow's contention, that no aggregated social welfare function common to all the heterogenous groups can be derived, for

> it must be demanded that there be some sort of consensus on the ends of society or no social welfare function exists.[22]

Further, in line with assumption (3) above we can also make the general assumption that freedom, sovereignty, and equality of, and between groups, are desirable ends in themselves that need no demonstration. And of course, we can assume, along the same lines of argument, that dictatorial or imposed relationships, goals, or ends are therefore undesirable.

A review of the historical association of Black people with peoples of European origin (i.e. White people) shows a great deal of uniformity in the nature of the association of domination and subjugation, be it in Africa, America, or the Caribbean. We also find that there has been a concerted effort on the part of the White people to rationalize their domination of Black people through legitimization, institutionalization, and the direct and indirect use of power as a way of containing conflict. We note finally, that much of this domination has been associated with unequal economic relationships generally resulting in the expropriation of surplus from the dominated Black people. The mere persistence of these unequal relationships in a total environment of domina-

tion gives the relationship a significant degree of purposiveness.

The aspects of uniformity, rationalization, and purposiveness imply that the social environment has a built-in purposiveness towards stability, equilibrium, and harmony which thus requires that for a study of the environment as a whole a functional framework would be in order.[23] However, Black people, being on the receiving end as a subjugated group might put a functionalistic approach to good use by utilizing it to investigate the degree to which the built-in system maintenance purposiveness of the larger (and dominating) society affect Black people in terms of the persistence of the domination, the generation or elimination of conflict, and so on.

From the point of view of the subjugated group, however, the more relevant approach would have to be structuralistic, incorporating institutional, historical, and social conflict aspects of social relations. Structuralist assumptions and analytical approaches come closest to typifying the nature of the concerns expressed in a Black 'perspective'. Such an approach, therefore, would have to incorporate analysis of the nature and origin of power and its legitimization of subjugation and domination relationships. Since the existence of conflict is the overriding concern from the perspective of Black people, it ought to be the core of the substantive structure of a Black Studies methodology.

But not only should we be concerned with the manner in which material, institutional, and normalized social relations originate and sustain themselves; but we should also be concerned with the

specific nature in which they change qualitatively, or the specific ways in which they induce superstructural changes. It is, therefore, necessary to incorporate into the structuralist approach a dialectical approach. The dialectical approach not only renders itself useful to the analysis of conflict but easily incorporates the analysis of both the marginal and discontinuous changes likely to be reflected in the relationship between the socio-economic base and the superstructure.

D. The Dominance-Subjugation/Threat Submission System [24]

Given the above considerations, we can now proceed to outline a possible general substantive framework that incorporates functional, structural and dialectical approaches.

Definition I: A Dominance-Subjugation (DS) relationship can be said to exist, when there is unequal exchange in the consumption, production, and distribution of political and economic goods and services between groups.

Proposition I.A.: Two or more groups of people will be said to have an equal or an equally beneficial relationship if and only if such a relationship is agreed upon and maintained under conditions of (a) relative freedom among the groups concerned, and (b) adequate knowledge of the short-run and longrun consequences and implications of the relationship.

Proposition I.B.: Conversely, an unequal, or an unequally beneficial relationship between two or more groups is one under which conditions (a) and (b) in Proposition I.A. are abrogated in a given period; and a relationship under such circumstances can only be, and is, a Dominance-Subjugation (DS) relationship, as in Definition I.

Definition II: A Threat-Submission (TS) system will be understood to mean an institutionalized arrangement whereby the dominant group metes out threats, punishments and rewards to ensure the continued submission, or compliance of the subjugated group.

Proposition II.A.: An equal or equally beneficial relationship among groups will always tend towards a stable equilibrium regardless of the degree of the legitimization of the relationship. (While conflict exists here, it is generally non-antagonistic, that is, it does not challenge or threaten the legitimacy of the relationship as such).

Proposition II.B.: Conversely, an equal or an unequally beneficial relationship (defined above as a DS relationship) will always tend towards disequilibrium because of the actual or potential existence of regular or irregular challenges from the subjugated group directed against the legitimacy of the unequal (DS) relationship. Stability may be maintained, however, for given periods through a continuous effort by the dominant group to legitimize the relationship and to deploy the Threat-Submission (TS) system.

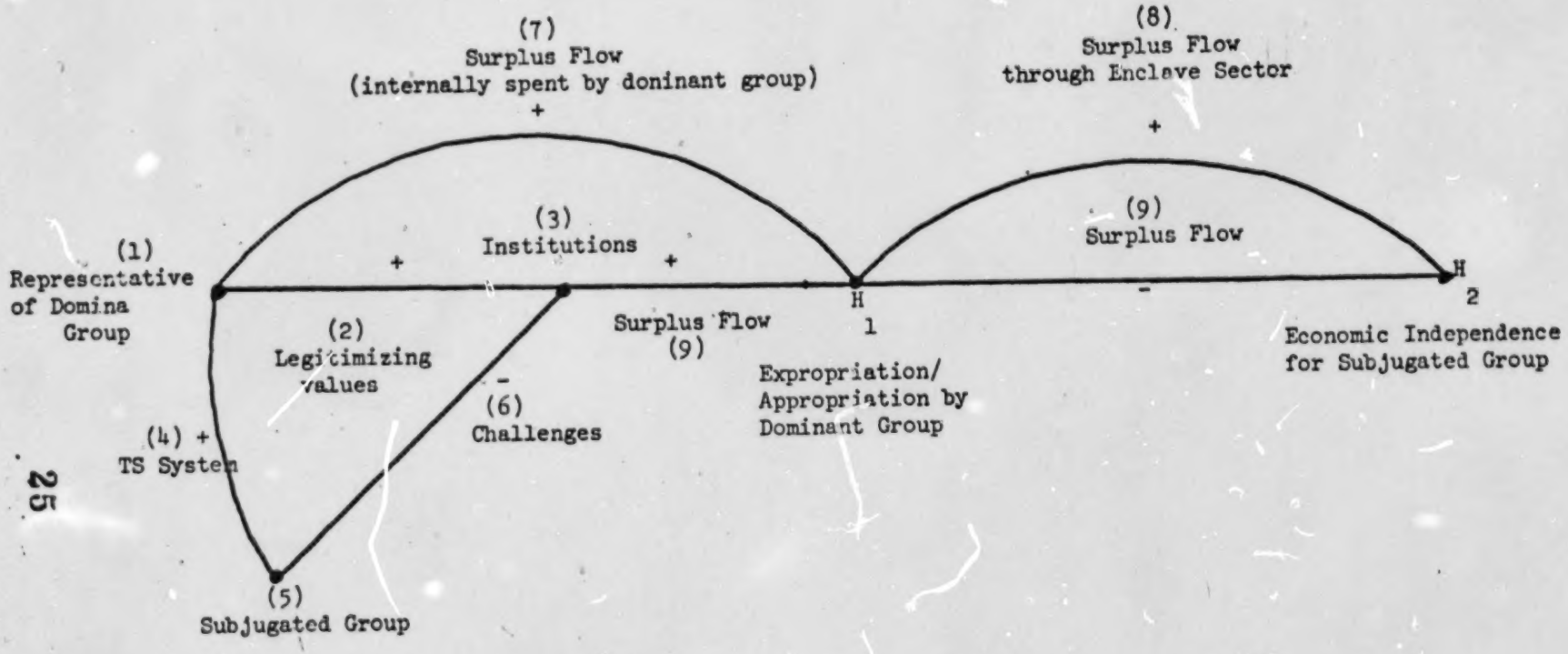
The DS/TS system, therefore, refers to a social environment characterized by Propositions I.B. and II.B. The goal of the subjugated group as assumed earlier as that of freedom and equality implies a need for Propositions I.A. and IIA. above. In other words the desirable goal for the dominated group is that of independence, sovereignty, freedom, or self-determination such that external forces cannot affect or determine the allocation, or distribution of resources (political or economic) unilaterally such that the group concerned cannot reciprocate, bargain, or

prevent.

A DS/TS system is characterized by unequal power relations between groups. While it can be granted that the basis of power can be material or non-material, it is nevertheless true that if the final test of the existence of power is the degree to which the powerful group can contain extreme or intense antagonistic conflict, then in the final analysis, the basis of power has to be material. Put another way, the existence of unequal power relations requires that the powerful group be able, when necessary, to resort to the Threat Submission system; and that a major element of the ability to develop the TS system is the ability to muster and utilize the requisite material resources. Negatively then, a characteristic of powerlessness is the inability to control any significant material resources. This material powerlessness can be institutionalized by any arrangement that guarantees lack of control by the dominated group over the economic surplus produced by the group, or, alternatively, by simply denying the subjugated group any opportunities to produce any economic surplus. Thus, a DS/TS relationship is generally characterized by the expropriation and appropriation of economic surplus by the dominant group. A proxy index of the attainment of the goal of the subjugated group is therefore the degree of control over its economic resources, and the amount of economic surplus produced it autonomously controls. The DS/TS system then in the aggregate can be conceptualized in form of a causal diagram as in diagram I on page 22.

Causal Conceptualization of the Dominance-Subjugation Threat Submission System

DIAGRAM I



Explanation of Diagram I

H_1 :-This is a homeostatic variable representing the goal of the dominant group. Since it is the ultimate basis of the DS/TS system, it represents the goal of ensuring continued domination.

H_2 :-This is another homeostatic variable representing the goal of the subjugated group. H_1 and H_2 are inversely related.

1:- Dominant Group: This group consists of the various exogenous individuals, or groups who are in control of the DS/TS system.

2:- Legitimizing Values:- These include mores, values, beliefs, ideology, symbolic structures and all other super-structural characteristics used to rationalize the DS/TS system and to ensure a degree of tacit support of the system on the part of the subjugated.

3:- Institutions:- These facilitate subjugation and the expropriation/appropriation of economic surplus. Examples are (a) Political institutions--formal and informal arrangements of ruling, domination, etc. (b) Cultural and Educational institutions such as churches and schools. (c) Economic institutions and forms of economic organization. (d) Communication structures--these control or influence the total social reality of the society and can also be used to divert or sublimate potential antagonistic tendencies.

4:- T-S System: These are sanctions, arrests, imprisonment, killings, rewards and punishments which, if constantly directed towards a particular group imply the existence of a DS/TS system; their presence is therefore a necessary and sufficient condition for the existence of a DS/TS relationship.

5:- Subjugated Group: This may consist of any group or combination of groups characterized by work, race, culture, ethnicity, sex,

and so on.

6:- Challenges:- These are actions, regular and irregular, antagonistic and non-antagonistic, directed at the DS/TS system. The longrun existence of potential or actual antagonistic challenges is a sufficient, although not a necessary condition for the existence of a DS/TS relationship. In a given period these challenges can, to one degree or another, be effectively contained through the use of the TS system (4) above and/or effective legitimization of the DS/TS system as in (2) above.

7:- Surplus Flow: This is some part of the economic surplus which is used to reinforce the TS system, and the support of the institutions and bureaucracies. As Boulding notes:

> For with goods which the threatner receives he can organize his threat capability and therefore his threat credibility.

8:- Surplus flow through the enclave sector: This is some of the surplus that is retained within the subjugated group's environment and which, therefore, may consist of a group or class indigenous to the subjugated group as a whole, or of an external group.

The plus signs in the diagram indicate that the effect positively reinforces the DS/TS system; and a minus sign indicates that the effect tends to undermine the DS/TS system. The framework, it should be noted, is a macro-framework as perceived by the subjugated group. It, therefore, contains the major elements relevant to the conditions of the subjugated group and excludes those elements of the dominant group that are irrelevant or peripheral to the condition of the subjugated group.

E. Conditions For the Identification of the DS/TS System

The two conditions identifying the existence of the DS/TS system should be emphasized:

(1) the necessary and sufficient condition is the existence of a TS system (direct or indirect) which, by design, or in practice, temporally and spatially incacerates a particular group in the society. Note here, that if the TS system is, in its ultimate effect, generally directed (that is it has an equal incidence on all groups), it can be said to be simply an aspect of institutionalization and therefore not indicative of a DS/TS system as here defined.

(2) the existence of antagonistic challenges is a sufficient although not a necessary condition of the existence of a DS/TS system.

Antagonistic challenges are all those activities directed against the legitimacy of the DS/TS system. They are only a sufficient condition because in any given period they can be effectively contained through legitimization or through the use of the TS system such that the cost of non-compliance becomes an effective deterrent.

The conditions specified above indicate that the DS/TS system is identifiable, and, in principle, as an explanation of some aspect of reality, capable of being invalidated. It is, therefore a scientifically meaningful framework. The conditions under which it degenerates into a scientifically meaningless concept need also to be specified, however. To see this, note that if the process of legitimization is so successful that the subjugated group, of its own accord, accepts the unequal relationship as a legitimate and natural condition of existence, antagonistic challenges (the sufficient condition for the DS/TS system) will disappear. As a consequence, it may not be necessary or essential to maintain a TS system (the necessary and sufficient condition of a DS/TS system). It may, there-

fore, be somewhat scientifically nonsensical under such circumstances to talk about unequal relationships. This sort of potential degeneration of the DS/TS framework is somewhat eliminated when it is contended that the concept is a longrun explanation. For, history has adequately shown that legitimization of unequal relationships is in the longrun never completely successful.

F. Implications of the DS/TS Framework

The DS/TS framework developed in the previous section is designed to be used in the analysis of unequal power relations. In its generality it can be used for most unequal relationships pertaining to groups of people that ought to be sovereign and free. As such, it can be used for the analysis of racial, ethnic, tribal, and national unequal configurations of groups. It can, in other words, be used for the analysis of what we may refer to as internal and external colonial, Imperialistic, or neo-colonialistic relationships.

The DS/TS framework can be rendered empirically meaningful by identifying aspects of it that are identifiable, measurable, or quantifiable. Thus, on a lower level of generality and in its empirically meaningful form the DS/TS framework can be disaggregated into a relationship hypothesizing dependency and domination relationships.[25] A dependency relationship is a flow concept which identifies the following: (1) all communicated, imposed, or adapted values, and (2) expropriated and appropriated economic surpluses which reinforce the DS/TS relationship such that the subjugated group is unable to alter the situation. A domination relationship on the other hand is a situational concept referring to

the manner in which the dominant group can allocate the priorities, resources, values, and the socio-economic behavior of the subjugated group such that the latter group is unable to alter the situation. A domination relationship on the other hand is a situational concept referring to the manner in which the dominant group can allocate priorities, resources, values, and the socio-economic behavior of the subjugated group resulting in the continued domination and dependency of the latter group.

The general usefulness of the DS/TS framework can thus be gleaned from a consideration of the implications of the notions of dependency and domination in empirical issues pertaining to Blacks. It should be noted that since the DS/TS framework is, from the point of view of the dominated group, a macro concept, the empirical issues cannot, singly, categorically prove the existence of non-existence of a DS/TS relationship. They would have to be considered in their total effect on the nature of group relations.

G. Superstructural Manifestations of the DS/TS System

While the DS/TS system may not be viewed as such by the dominant group, which may view the system in functional terms, it is a structural framework embodying social conflict from the perspective of the subjugated group. We will view the structural elements of the DS/TS system as constituting the quantitative base. For a complete depiction of the nature of the subjugation we need to indicate also the superstructural (qualitative) manifestations of the DS/TS system. Having done this our model will not only be structural but also dialectical.

The DS/TS system, like all other structural and institutional forms of social organization, is a human creation. Such human creations, however, in the course of time, become objectified and thus become separated from their creators and become reified as things possessing a reason for existence of their own.[26] This reification is associated with, and legitimized by a superstructure consciously created and maintained by the creators. Antagonistic conflict in a society arises as a result of the degree to which a particular group in the society refuses to accept the institutions and roles associated with them as reified and does not subscribe fully to the existing superstructure. A DS/TS system characterizes such a society with actual or potential antagonistic groups.

Everyday experiences are subjectively comprehended by each individual who then finds that this comprehension is an intersubjective one shared by a community of individuals. Through social interaction the nature of the subjectively shared comprehension of reality is abstracted and the roles associated with them are typified and generalized. The result is an objectification of the subjectively determined comprehension and its associated roles. The objectification can take the form of language, symbolic interaction, or institutionalization. This then becomes the socially created reality, which to a greater or lesser degree, assumes an existence removed from that of its creators.

Institutionalization occurs when shared actions and goals are routinized so that their existence and their fulfillment of required functions is not directly dependent on particular individuals. Institutions therefore "control human conduct by setting up predefined patterns of

conduct".[27] This "typification of habitualized actions", assumes some degree of freedom of association and mutuality among the members of a society. The resulting social control through sanctions and rewards further objectifies institutions as real entities. Note, however, that the nature of the institution conforms to a preferred and logical pattern arrived at subjectively through the reflective consciousness of the community. The knowledge of the nature and logicality of the institution is assumed to be available potentially, and retrievable when needed:

> This is the knowledge that
> is learned in the course of socialization
> and that mediates in internalization
> within individual consciousness of
> the objectivated structures of the
> social world. Knowledge in this sense
> is at the heart of the fundamental
> dialectic of society.[28]

The playing and repetition of roles commensurate with the logic of the institutions gives the latter (institutions) a legitimacy for their existence.. In addition to the roles, institutions have linguistic designations and objectifications, and complex symbolizations which have to be continually enacted and resurrected through ceremonies, rituals, myths, parades and so on for the continuous objectification of the institutions. Thus, while institutions are created as a result of the subjective reflection of the community, the latter's comprehension of the institutions is also altered in the process of the objectification of the institutions. The process of interaction is thus dialectical.

The knowledge about the institutions is available as an amalgam of ideas and logic of the institutions and the history, values, preferences, ideology, and so on, associated with them. This amalgam of shared knowledge is structured according to relevances, which are vectors, as it

were, or ordinal functions of those things the community intersubjectively deems desirable and cherishable. Institutionalization, therefore, depends on the spread and generality of shared relevances. The greater the spread and generality of shared relevances the greater will be the degree of institutionalization in a society.

The institutions can also be objectified through a conscious process of legitimization. This process is a process of making available to, and ingrained into the subjective comprehension of unknowledgeable (or potentially doubting) individuals or groups, those primary or first order relevances that give the institution their raison detre. Legitimization, therefore, by spreading values and knowledge of the institutions, gives the latter a normative dignity to their practical imperatives, a cognitive validity to their existence. The legitimizing process is facilitated by the fact that relevance structures are available in form of symbolic universes of socially objectivated and subjectively real meanings.

The sum total of a society's symbolic universes may be an aggregated symbolic universe which in its coherence prevades all aspects of society such that

> its meaning-bestowing capacity
> far exceeds the domain of social
> life, so that the individual
> may 'locate' himself within it
> even in his most solitary experiences.[29]

The symbolic universe ensures that everyone is in line with 'reality', as society has created it, and defined it. Institutions, thus, have an ontological existence relatively independent of its creators; they become refied, which refers to the

> Apprehension of human phenomena
> as if they were things, that is,
> in non-human or possibly
> supra-human terms.[30]

The nature of the problem each society is confronted with can now be identified as that of ensuring that the symbolic universe and its institutions have external and internal legitimacy. The TS system (as defined above) and the legitimization process, very broadly defined, are complimentary and substitutable means of ensuring social equilibrium. The problem is intensified, however, when particular groups (such as classes, races or ethnic groups) possess unique symbolic subuniverses and unique corresponding typified forms of behavior that are not in agreement with those of the dominant society. In this case, the process of legitimization and the deployment of the TS system will be disproportionately directed towards these deviant groups. This is the situation we have identified above as pertaining to a Dominance-Subjugation relationship--in fact it is the necessary and sufficient condition for the existence of a DS/TS system described earlier.

Let us refer to the nature of institutions, relationships between institutions, and relationships between social groups as representing the socio-economic structure, or the base; and refer to the symbolic universe or subuniverses of a group or the society as a whole as the superstructure. Because of its reification we will view the base as the quantitative, and the superstructure as the qualitative aspect of society. Note that both the base and the superstructure are human creations, as Berger and Luckmann warn us,

> it is important to keep in mind that the objectivity of the institutional world, however massive it may appear to the individual is a humanly produced, constructed objectivity.[31]

The base and the superstructure interact through the legitimization process which results in mutual adjustments of both.

Some implications of the above discussion for the analysis of the Black condition can be stated in form of the following questions:

(1) Do Blacks and Whites share the same relevances and symbolic universes?

(2) To what degree are Black and White symbolic subuniverses complimentary, co-existing, or conflicting?

If we answer the above questions according to the historical circumstances initially prevailing for Blacks, we can state categorically that Blacks and Whites did not share the same relevances or symbolic structures, and that the nature of the initial interaction represented a conflict of symbolic structures with that of the whites as the dominant one. The problem, however, remains of unravelling and conceptualizing what has happened since that initial time.

H. Some Implications of the DS/TS System for Emprical Research Identifying Oppression

Quantitatively Black people are oppressed to the degree that dependency and domination effects disproportionately affect Blacks in their incidence and persistence spatially and temporally. The uniqueness of such oppression, however, cannot be adequately determined by looking at quantitative indicators of dependency and domination as has traditionally been the case. This is particularly a problem when the aim is to assess the differences in oppression among groups at a given point in time or for a given period.

However, by superimposing superstructural manifestations of domination and dependence among groups through a dialectical approach, a categorical and perhaps an unequivocal rule, that uniquely determines the degree of oppression can be derived. The rule is that:

> differences in the incidence and persistence of subjugation (as measured by quantitative indexes) among groups can be said to be significantly, and, therefore, uniquely different when domination and dependency effects result, or are associated with different qualitative (i.e. superstructural manifestations)

manifestations. This dialectical rule, as we shall call it, not only helps in distinguishing the nature of oppression among groups, but it also helps in distinguishing the kind of oppression characteristic of a DS/TS system as sketched above, from the domination of minority individuals or groups inherent in the nature of social organization and institutionalization as such in containing deviance in an otherwise homogenous society.

The DS/TS system presumes a lack of homogeneity so that the domination implied by it hypothesizes that the dominated group will not reify and will not hold as legitimate the social, political, cultural, and economic values, norms, and institutional/structural framework of the society of which it is a part. Superstructural attempts to accommodate this refusal to reify or legitmize the prevailing social relations and norms can be manifested in socio-economic adaptations and adjustments or antagonistic challenges which may or may not support the DS/TS system. Thus, hypothetically, unique superstructural manifestations will be associated with groups for whom domination and dependency effects disproportionately persist over time.

The Homogeniety of Black People:

While at the time of the initial contact between Blacks and Whites Black people could be said to have constituted a homogenous group, at this point in history, as a result of structural differentiation the matter is not at all quite clear. The problem here can be phrased in terms of the following issues that need to be empirically determined: (a) On the basis of race poor Blacks and middle-class Blacks are situationally potential victims of the DS/TS system. On the basis of class, however, there is a difference, for, the incidence and persistence of poverty is greater among poor Blacks. The combination of racial and class stratification factors can be viewed to result in differences in

the categorical conversion (i.e. the superstructural reaction) and the subjective comprehension of the oppression between poor Blacks and middle class Blacks.

It needs to be determined whether both groups equally accept or reject the facticity and reification of the dominant symbolic universes and structures. Further, for purposes of mobilization and political strategy it needs to be determined how, in the longrun, socio-economic differentiation and stratification within the Black community undermines the bond of racial solidarity and identification. If it does undermine it, is the mobilization of all Blacks on the basis of race a feasible longrun strategy--the issue here it should be noted, is first and foremost empirical and only secondarily ideological.

If we assume, for instance that middle class Blacks fully accept the legitimacy of the dominant social structure, its relations, and values; and assume, alternatively, that poor Blacks do not fully accept as legitimate the existing social structure and its concommitant relations and values. We can say then, in terms of the DS/TS system, that the disenchantment with the system among middleclass Blacks on the basis of race represents a nonantagonistic challenge and that among poor Blacks on the basis of race and class (their poverty) represents an actual or potential antagonistic challenge. If these assumptions are true empirically, then, the political grievances of middleclass Blacks represent a contingent consciousness since they do not challenge the legitimacy of the established order and therefore can be accommodated within it. On the other hand, the political grievances of poor Blacks represent a necessary consciousness in that, being antagonistic, they challenge the very roots of the established order and thus can only be fully accommodated through a revolutionary transformation of social relations. Employing the dialectical rule mentioned earlier we can conclude (if our initial assumptions are

empirically true) that poor Blacks and middleclass Blacks represent quantitatively and qualitatively different groups for purposes of political mobilization. In this case then any mobilization on the basis of race should be such that the interests of middleclass Blacks should be subordinated to those of poor Blacks, and that when the former are to be spokesmen of the latter they should be viewed with circumspection.

Race and Class

This issue arises because not only do we have class differentiation within one broad race category, as shown above, but we also have racial differentiation within each broad class category. Crucial in these racial and class dichotomies is the relationship of poor whites to Black people. The dialectical rule can be applied here, just as well, to illuminate the nature of the problem. Let us assume that the incidence of poverty among whites both temporally and spatially is such that every newly born white American has a relatively equal probability of being poor or rich. This assumption means that the socio-economic system as viewed by whites is generally directed (that is, it is not predesigned to adversely or beneficially affect one particular group of whites in the longrun). If this is empirically the case then poor whites will view their condition as a temporary aberration. Their grievances, therefore, will constitute a contingent consciousness in that, being non-antagonistic, they can be accommodated (as viewed by poor whites) within the system in the course of time.

If the preceding holds, then poor whites are closer to middleclass Blacks in their non-antagonistic contingent consciousness. Also both poor whites (on the basis of class) and middleclass Blacks (on the

basis of race) constitute, because of their contingent consciousness, only temporary and tactical allies for poor Blacks, whose consciousness is a necessary one. It is in this respect that one can view poor Blacks as probably the most potentially revolutionary class in America. But if within any given period, say a prolonged, recession, poor whites view their poverty in a manner that transforms their attitude toward the system from a non-antagonistic one to an antagonistic one that challenges the legitimacy of the system, its relations, and its symbolic universes, then and only then, will their consciousness be a necessary one and as such one in unison with that of poor Blacks.

What we have then is the problem of:

> The contradiction between sociological contingency of the class (stratified and divided by sectional interest, etc.) at a given moment, and its being as constitutive of the structural antagonism of capitalism.[32]

Marx refers to this as a contradtiction in the being and existence of labor

> whose solution is a necessary prerequisite--in its dialectical sense--to a successful restructuring of society.[33]

If the aim is to restructure society, then, racial or class unity cannot be presumed solely on the basis of a priori assumptions conforming to some chosen ideology.[34]

I.I. CONCLUSION: Ideology and Methodology

If the aim is to restructure society then, racial, or class unity, among Blacks, Blacks and whites, respectively cannot be presumed solely on the basis of a priori assumptions conforming to some ideology. Given the goals of a group, an ideology should be formulated on the basis of a correct diagnosis of prevailing social relations. To achieve this a substantive (theoretical) structure commensurate with a given value orientation has to be developed

from which the relevant hypotheses about society can be formulated for testing. Since the value orientation is a perspective it should be such that it generally conforms to given ideological goals. The value orientation then ensures that the relevant questions about social reality will be asked.

However to ensure that the social reality is correctly diagnosed a strict methodology has to be followed and from the pool of the consequent empirical findings implications for ideology and political strategy can be derived. Ideology is related to methodology in that it provides a basis (the perspective) from which to launch scientific inquiry of utility to a particular group. Once that basis is provided, however, methodology takes over and through its results ideology can be refined. Thus, while to say an ideology is 'scientific' is a misnomer it is quite possible that an ideology is based on 'scientific' findings (that is the product of a given methodology).

We need a methodology relevant to a Black perspective not only for the sake of refining ideology and strategy but also for educational purposes. A unique methodology is needed to routinize inquiry and to ensure that the task of asking relevant questions for scientific inquiry is undertaken efficiently. Black Studies research institutes and conventions should be held solely for the purpose of developing a unified substantive structure through critiques and reviews of the numerous discrete and disparate scholarly output now in existence. The outcome of such discussions should be made available in form of theoretical textbooks which should be used in required courses on methodology and theory in Black Studies programs. The development of the disciplines such as sociology and anthropology into established areas of academic inquiry in a matter of decades should be studied for the light

they shade on the task before us.

The search for a methodology of Black Studies should at this point in the Black Studies crisis be the primary aim of actualizing a longrun internal and external legitimacy. The identification of perspective and content is only a starting point. We should be cautious, however, for

> where interest in method ceases to be primary and becomes militantly exclusive, where regard for method begins to be related inversely to regard for its results, a peculiar problem arises, belonging to the sociology and ethics of query.[35]

With such caution in mind the elaboration of a methodology of Black Studies should be intensified. With a methodology of Black Studies, a unique perspective, and a unique substantive structure such as can be suggested by the DS/TS framework sketched above, viable Black Studies programs can be developed. Such programs will have to be manned by those who share similar perspectives and similar methodologies, letting some chips fall where they may, on Blacks or whites; however, to ensure that the possibility of the diluting or sabotaging of the perspective and goals is held at bay, Black Studies in its institutional manifestation should remain monopolized by Black people.[36]

NOTES

NOTE ON THE PAPER: This is a revised version of a previous paper, similarly titled, presented at the 1975 African Heritage Studies Association Convention in Washington, D.C., April, 1975. The first part of the paper is abridged from a paper entitled "Methodological Uniqueness as a Longrun Basis for the Legitimization of Black Studies Programs" presented at the Symposium on Critical Issues in Afro-American Studies in February 1975, sponsored by the Afro-American Studies program at Syracuse University (also published as a selected paper from the proceedings in the Afro-American Quarterly, Vol. I No. 3). The DS/TS framework was originally presented in a paper entitled "Economic Exploitation and African Economic Development: A Comparative critique of Marxian and Traditionalist views of Imperialism" for the African Studies Association 16th Annual Convention at Syracuse, November 1975. And finally, the discussion on "Superstructural Manifestations of the DS/TS System" has been excerpted from a previous paper entitled "Structural Oppression and the Persistence of Black Poverty: A Structural/Dialectical Approach to an Analytical synthesis of the Class and Racial Oppression of Black Communities," presented at the National Conference on The Black Family in the American Economy sponsored by the Pan African Studies Department, University of Louisville, Kentucky, March, 1975 (Preceedings of the Conference scheduled for publication by ECCA Publications, Summer of 1975).

1. In this essay 'Black Studies' is understood to be synonymous with Afro-American Studies.

2. A number of studies, reports and books have been published on Black Studies. In many of these works only content, perspective, and the general utility of Black Studies are discussed; the issue of methodology is rarely discussed. See for example, Armstead L. Robinson, Craig C. Foster, and Donald Olgivie, editors, Black Studies in the University: A Symposium, (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1969); John Blassingame editor, New Perspectives on Black Studies (University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1971); Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Report of the Faculty Committee on African and Afro-American Studies (Harvard University, 1969); Walter Fisher, Ideas for Black Studies (The Morgan State College Program, 1971); Nick Aaron Ford, Black Studies: Threat & Challenge (National University Publications, Port Washington, N.Y. 1973); Allen B. Ballard, The Education of Black Folk: The Afro-American Struggle for Knowledge in White America. (Harper and Row-Colophon Books, N.Y., 1973); and Thomas Sowell, Black Education: Myths and Tragedies (David Mackay Inc., New York, 1972).

3. Harold Cruse, "Black Politics Series: The Methodology of Pan Africanism", Black World, January 1975. A distinction should be made here between scholarship by Blacks of which there are outstanding examples in the traditional disciplines, and Black scholarship emanating from the outspoken supporters of Black Studies programs, which, it is argued here is lacking.

4. Justus Buchler, The Concept of Method (Columbia University Press, New York, 1961) p. 7. Much of the discussion on method in this section is distilled from Buchler's treatise.

5. Ibid., p. 9

6. For a discussion of the nature of values in scientific inquiry see Abraham Kaplan, The Conduct of Inquiry (Chandler Publishing Co., Scranton, Pa. 1964); and the many works of Gunnar Myrdal on scientific inquiry, especially Value in Social Theory: A Selection of Essays by Gunnar Myrdal, edited by Paul Streeten (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1958).

7. Buchler, The Concept of Method, p. 131.

8. Kaplan, The Conduct of Inquiry, p. 375.

9. Julien Freund, The Sociology of Max Weber (Vintage Books, Random House, N.Y. 1969(p. 53.

10. Ibid., p. 54.

11. Ibid., p. 54.

12. Joseph J. Schwab, "Structure of the Disciplines: Meanings and Significances", in The Structure of Knowledge and the Curriculum (Rand McNally Curriculum Series, Chicago, 1964) edited by G.W. Ford and Lawrence Pugno, p. 14.

13. Addison Gayle Jr., editor, The Black Aesthetic (Doubleday and Co., N.Y., 1971); Joyce Ladner, editor, The Death of White Sociology (Random House, N.Y., 1973).

14. Ronald Walters "Toward a Definition of Black Social Science", in Joyce Ladner, editor, The Death of White Sociology, p. 190.

15. Abd-L Hakimu Ibn Alkalimat (Gerald McWorter) "Ideology of Black Social Science", in Joyce Ladner, editor, The Death of White Sociology, p. 187.

16. Nathan Hare, "The Challenge of a Black Scholar," in Ladner's, The Death of White Sociology p. 73.

17. James Turner, "The Sociology of Black Nationalism", in Ladner's, The Death of White Sociology p. 252.

18. J. Scott, "Black Science and Nation Building", in Ladner's, The Death of White Sociology p. 308.

19. Tom Bottomore, "Introduction", p. 5 and see the fuller discussion by R.K. Merton, "Insiders and Outsiders: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge", both in American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 28, No. 1, July 1972. This particular issue of AJS is devoted to "Varieties of Political Expression in Sociology", and contains useful discussions of method, perspective, and bias in scientific inquiry.

20. For a description of the methodological components of a discipline and their inter-relations see R.K. Merton's On Theoretical Sociology (Free Press, N.Y., 1967) chapters IV and V. See also the essays in Ford and Pugno, editors The Structure of Knowledge and the Curriculum.

21. Stephen Henderson, Understanding the New Black Poetry, and "Saturation: Progress Report on a Theory of Black Poetry", Black World, June 75; Dan L. Lee, Dynamite Voices: Black Poets of the 1960's (Broadside Press, Detroit).

22. Kenneth Arrow, Social Choice and Individual Values (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1972) p. 83.

23. Arthur L. Stinchcombe, Constructing Social Theories (Harcourt, Brace and World, N.Y. 1968).

24. The DS/TS System as developed here is a conglomeration of various approaches. The idea of domination and legitimacy has been dealt with in Max Weber's writings on political sociology (see Reinhard Bendix's Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait- Doubleday, N.Y., 1960- Part III). The implications of the incorporation of social conflict, antagonistic and non-antagonistic, have been dealt with in the Marxian tradition, and by sociologists such as L.A. Coser and Ralf Dahrendorf. The idea of a Threat Submission system as an aspect of domination can be found in Boulding's introduction to Economic Imperialism (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1972) edited by K.E. Boulding and Tapan Mukerjee. The interconnectedness of the DS/TS system as suggested here is in general similar to that of Johan Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism", Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 8, 1974. For case studies applying a framework similar to, and implying a DS/TS system see the many works on the political economy of underdeveloped countries; and, for a study of legitimizing institutions see Martin Carnoy's Eduction as Cultural Imperialism (David Mackay, 1974).

25. Domination and Dependency are defined here along the lines suggested by Charles Elliott in "Growth Development or Independence?", in Heide and Udo Ernst Simonis, editors, Socio Economic Development in Dual Economics (Weltforum Verlag, Munchen, 1971).

26. The discussion is derived from the treatise by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality (Doubleday Anchor Books, N.Y., 1967).

27. Ibid., p. 54.

28. Ibid., p. 66.

29. Ibid., p. 96 The works of Frantz Fanon and Memmi on the psychological impact of colonial domination give eloquent testimonies to this observation.

30. Berger and Luckmann, p. 89.

31. Ibid., p. 60.

32. Istuan Meszaros, "Contingent and Necessary Class Consciousness," in I. Meszaros, Editor, Aspects of History and Class Consciousness (Herder and Herder, N.Y. 1971), p. 100.

33. Ibid. p. 100.

34. Thus Meszaros observes, however, that

> the development of necessary class consciousness does not imply its constitution as a 'homogenous psychological bond'-which is a fiction. . .-but the elaboration of strategically vaiable programmes of action embracing a multiplicity of specific social groups in whatever variety of organizational forms may be required. (Meszaros, op. cit. p. 100).

35. Buchler, The Concept of Method, p. 105. Buchler evangelistically continues thus: "For this kind of inverse relation has as an eventual consequence an erasure of the sense of connection between activity and its aims. The uses and fruits of method become objects of disdain. Methodolatry enters the scene, and methodic activity becomes transformed into a continuing proliferation of conventions. Methodolotry is more a cultural than an individual problem. That certain individuals should focus short-sightedly is sometimes necessary, and contributory to invention. But that masses of individuals should do so implies social attribute of the alternative course. Men afflicted with Methodolatry become self righteous, and in their euphoria fancy themselves to have acquired unsuspected health. Methodic activity is identified with cultist works. Virtuousity is mistaken for originality. The epidemic colony turns into a reformist party which sees itself a correcting extravagance of old ways. In time, the aridity of correctness becomes evident, even to the faithful. The methodic imagination craves to be utilized and fulfilled. Procedural tricks prove meager fare, and the epidemic is broken, at least until new and more provincial methodolaters threaten to seize the day." (My emphasis)

36. On the need for such monopolization, and not necessarily absolute exclusiveness, see Guy C.Z. Mhone, "The Case Against Africanists", ISSUE, (African Studies Association Quarterly Journal of Opinion) Vol. II No. 2 Summer, 1972.